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Mpezeni

of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of the hunters.

In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[41] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted our attention to the relations existing between major portions of the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

[41] See the writings of Moreau, Pedler, Scrivener and Spies.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Chapter Two

THE SNOWBALL STATE

1. Manipulation 2. Age-sets 3. Officers of State 4. Continually segmenting systems 5. Lineage systems compared 6. Splitting the State 7. Stability

1. *Manipulation*

IN OUR first chapter we outlined some of the more significant events in Ngoni history prior to the arrival of Europeans. In this chapter we shall examine the political system within which these events took place. It is not the task of social analysis to determine why these or any other events occurred. What we shall attempt is a discussion of how they occurred, and what were the principal social relations involved in them.

Most of the incidents referred to in the first chapter concerned the State as a whole or the royal family. Nevertheless, when we begin to consider the conditions under which the State endured we have to discuss the social position of ordinary men and women within the State. For the Ngoni State held together as an organized social group, and on occasion failed to hold together, not merely because Zwangendaba was a good leader or his sons quarrelsome or his brothers ambitious, or because his people were bound by custom and knew no better, but also, and in our view mainly, because the State was a viable social entity in its time and place. The arrangement of people into segments and age-sets was not a mere formal and static division, but a means whereby a motley heterogeneous collection of individuals was converted into an organized society with agreed aims. The structure of the State had rules; in other words there was regularity in its social processes. Yet it was a structure which, within these rules, could be manipulated. The structure could be, and was, utilized by individuals for the realization of their private ends at the expense of others as well as providing for the common good. This is probably true of all social systems. We shall begin our analysis by examining the ways in which this manipulation was carried out.

In most societies, from the simplest system of hunting bands to the complex societies of the modern world, one of the most significant sets of rights are those relating to fixed natural resources. The structure of rights in land provides a key to the structure of society.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

where other states, if states they were, organized themselves on quite different lines. Ngoni external political relations were restricted to acts of war. They harried their neighbours but did not bring them into enduring political relationship. When fission occurred, when the Ngoni State split into two, then indeed the fighting that took place was war between segments, and for a while an inter-segment relationship which had been internal became external and was mediated through force. Relations of this kind did not persist, for independent Ngoni groups soon diverged from each other, seeking weaker enemies.

5. *Lineage systems compared*

Our argument in the preceding section was directed to showing that the old Ngoni society was a state in which internal political relations were largely determined by a continually segmenting residential system. We compared it with other societies in which lineage systems provided the basis for political relations. We now have to ask how did this residential system differ from these similar systems; was it a kind of lineage system?

Gluckman has set out nine criteria by which a lineage system may be distinguished and which we may apply to the residential system.[37] In the first place we must expand the meaning of the word descent before we can call an Ngoni segment a unilineal descent group. However it seems justifiable to regard the process by which an Ngoni captive sundered the ties linking him to his natal community and was then incorporated in a new one as a kind of social death and re-birth.[38] We may then speak of a captive being socially descended from his lord. More familiarly, we must use descent to include social descent from a man when biological descent is from his kinsman acting as pro-husband for him after his death, and from a woman when biological descent is from her linked junior co-wife. With these extensions of meaning, we may regard the residential system as composed of unilineal descent groups.

Lineage segments, particularly small ones, are usually exogamous, whereas no Ngoni segment was automatically an exogamous unit. True agnatic kin could not marry one another, but the quasi-agnatic relationship between a lord and his dependants was not a bar, and a man and woman with the same captor were free to marry each other, even though they both called their lord *father*.

[37] Gluckman, in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, pp. 4-5.

[38] cf. Warner's description of the passing of light-skinned Negroes in the United States into the White caste as 'social death'.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

of scale,[3] as we may call it, was accompanied by major changes not only in the positions occupied by individuals in Ngoni society but also in the form of Ngoni society itself. We have to analyse at this stage a non-repetitive process, by which the autonomous Ngoni state, organized by a segmentary residential system and an age-set system, was changed into a dependent unit in a system of Native Authorities forming part of a world-wide colonial empire. For this reason the details of the process are worth noting, for in Ngoni history they are unique and largely determine the form of modern Ngoni society. Having established this significant sequence of events, we are then in a position to look at the same set of facts in a wider context. For what is unique and non-repetitive for the Ngoni may be repetitive in a wider context. The Ngoni are only one tribe among a myriad of tribes, and what happened to them has also happened to many others. Similar sequences of events, each unique for the particular tribe concerned, have occurred throughout the world at various periods of time whenever small autonomous systems have been absorbed into large and more highly resourceful ones. We can therefore look at Ngoni history from 1880 onwards as either unique, from the point of view of the Ngoni, or as typical, or at least probably typical, of a repetitive process which has often occurred in the development of any empire.

Conveniently, at least some of the facts can be ascertained with reasonable certainty. We are no longer dependent only on oral tradition, but can refer to contemporary documents. These reflect in the main only the European side of Black-White relations, but even so their testimony is enlightening. I have therefore set out in full the history, mainly of external relations, of the Fort Jameson Ngoni from 1886 down to 1900 both with the intention of throwing light on how the transition was made from pre-conquest to modern society in this particular tribal instance, and also as an example of what seems probably an oft-repeated process in the history of any empire. A discussion of how typical the Ngoni experience is would take us beyond the bounds of this book. We should, however, bear in mind that the newer comparative method, as developed by Radcliffe-Brown and his followers, is as applicable to mammoth social forms, such as empires, as to small ones such as hordes, provided only that the right kind of data are available.

Our detailed documentation should extend down to modern times, but after 1900 there was a change in the kind of events that were documented, related as we shall see to a change in social relations, and we have to proceed somewhat differently.

[3] For the concept of scale, see Wilson, *Social change*, pp. 25 *ff*.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

PREFACE

THE material on which this book is based was collected during three periods in Nyasaland as a Research Fellow of the International African Institute: May–December 1935; April 1936–June 1937; July 1938–August 1939.

The choice had to be made whether to concentrate on one Ngoni area and omit the other, and also whether to present Ngoni culture as a common element in both areas or to regard them as separate cultural areas. I decided to gather material from northern and central Ngoniland, and accordingly spent about one-third of the time in north Nyasaland and about two-thirds in central Nyasaland. I used the Nyanja language all the time in central Ngoniland, and found that many people understood it in the north. I learned some Zulu, enough to read and hear Ngoni when spoken, but it was dying out as a language except for certain ceremonial and legal terms and expressions. Very few people spoke it in central Ngoniland; most of the older people knew it in the north and in one area it was still the language of the home in 1936.

The decision to present Ngoni culture as a common constituent of Ngoni life in all parts of Nyasaland was made after the material had been analysed. I decided also to attempt a reconstruction of Ngoni life at the time of the first European contacts, when the kingdoms were at the height of their power. Men and women were still alive, when I was in Ngoni villages, who had fought as warriors, who had organized large households, who had been present at the accession and death of the Paramounts. Their experiences were part of Ngoni culture and inseparable from much of what was regarded as essentially 'Ngoni' in the 1930's.

In both areas the informants were of two kinds: those who welcomed an anthropologist who would collect and record Ngoni history, patterns of social organization, and cultural behaviour of which they were intensely proud; and those who were reluctant at first to give information, either because they were Christians and had been at school and said they had 'forgotten'; or because they were suspicious of all Europeans, and did not want to speak of what to them was a treasured and hidden heritage.

Working in more than one language medium and bringing into the open Ngoni terms not as a rule used in the presence of Europeans presented a number of problems both of terminology and orthography. I have included a glossary of Ngoni terms used frequently in the book. There were several variations of the prefixes in common use with Ngoni words, as for example *abalumuzana*, *alumuzana*, *malumuzana*, all three of which were used in northern and central Ngoniland. The clicks,

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

the northern Ngoni kingdom. Other groups of these Ngoni were found in three separate states in the Dowa and Kotakota districts. The Ngoni in the Ncheu district were known as Gomani's Ngoni and will be called in this book the central Ngoni kingdom. Four states which separated from this kingdom were found in the Dedza, Lilongwe and Cholo districts. The Ngoni in Fort Manning district belonged to Mpezeni's kingdom in the Fort Jameson district of Northern Rhodesia.

According to these census figures, the northern Ngoni kingdom with the three separated states accounted for 69,706; the central kingdom with the four separated states accounted for 46,891. Leaving out the Fort Manning Ngoni, there were 71,354 Ngoni in the rest of Nyasaland who had at one time formed part of the northern and central kingdoms and their offshoots, but who had dispersed in search of work and had made large settlements in the towns and on the estates of the southern province where employment was to be found. A similar dispersion from the main Ngoni concentrations in Nyasaland to Southern and Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa had taken place which formed part of the extensive emigration from Nyasaland in search of better employment than that available in the territory.

The existence of two Ngoni kingdoms, several smaller Ngoni states, and a still larger number of people enumerated as Ngoni but dispersed in every district of Nyasaland, poses a number of problems for the anthropologist. In this book I have concentrated on the two Ngoni kingdoms and on the Ngoni culture found in them in the 1930's. It was my intention, by focusing on the two kingdoms, to show that there was an Ngoni culture which had common elements in both areas and hence was shared to some extent by all the Ngoni living in Nyasaland. We shall be asking the questions in Part I—Who can be called Ngoni? What is Ngoni culture? Why do people in every district of Nyasaland enumerate themselves as Ngoni though a large number no longer live in the Ngoni kingdoms or in the Ngoni states? Are we discussing a people whose cultural affiliation survives political dispersal? The chief problem in the relation between the Ngoni kingdoms as political states and Ngoni culture will be stated in Part I and illustrated and analysed in the rest of the book. In this chapter, we shall examine the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the two Ngoni kingdoms.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS IN THE NGONI KINGDOMS

There were four main groups of people in the Ngoni kingdoms, distinguished by the areas from which their ancestors came and designated by the Ngoni as 'those from the south', 'those from south of the Zambesi', 'those from the march' and 'those from this country'. The Ngoni said that the clan descent name of a person showed to which group he or she belonged.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956

FR5 Ngoni FR5

(a) 'Those from the south'

These were the descendants of the leaders of the two main Ngoni groups represented by the two Ngoni kingdoms, with their followers, who left Natal during the wars of Shaka. They were South-eastern Bantu of Nguni stock, and when they were first encountered by Europeans in Nyasaland, the Europeans called them Zulus and spoke of their language as Zulu. Ngoni informants in the 1930's who were regarded as most reliable repudiated their relationship with the Zulu, and always referred to their ethnic origin as a people of Swazi stock. Y. M. Cibambo whose knowledge of Ngoni traditions was unrivalled, said in his book *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*—'Very many of them [the Ngoni] came from Swaziland, which is north of Zululand'.[1] A nostalgic refrain occurred in more than one of their traditional songs:

> Come let us go to Swaziland
> Where the people die fat.[2]

Cultural affinities between the Ngoni in Nyasaland and the people now living in Swaziland and, to a lesser degree, with the Zulu, will be examined in several chapters of this book. In the chapter on clan descent names in Part III, we shall compare the clan names called Swazi by the Ngoni with the lists of clan names given by Bryant in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*[3] and with the list given by Kuper, in *An African Aristocracy*,[4] of the Swazi and pre-Swazi clans. The military organization of the Ngoni, the age-set system which formed part of it, and other cultural features which will be discussed in Chapter III of this section, all show a general cultural affinity with the peoples of the northern Ngoni group of the South-eastern Bantu.

The separation of the Ngoni group from the parent stock, which took place at about the same time as the Ndebele and the Shangaan groups fought their way north, occurred before the Swazi and Zulu kingdoms took final form. It is more correct, therefore, to say that Ngoni cultural affinities were with the northern Ngoni group as a whole than to say they were off-shoots of either the Zulu or the Swazi. The Ngoni themselves used the designation 'Swazi' for the people with clan descent names whose ancestors left the south with the original party. Some of the older men remembered their fathers and grandfathers speaking of their clan as having belonged to the Ntungwa group, the Mntwa group, the Mtetwa group, before the departure of the Ngoni took place. This differentiation into pre-Swazi tribal and clan groupings was not in the 1930's one to which the Ngoni gave much attention. In talking about their southern origin it was the Swazi connexion which they emphasized.

[1] Cibambo, Y. M. *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*. Lutterworth Press, 1942, p. 8.
[2] Read, M. 'Songs of the Ngoni People.' *Bantu Studies*, March 1933, p. 10.
[3] Bryant, A. T. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*. Longmans, 1929, pp. 681–92.
[4] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*. O.U.P., 1947, p. 253.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

123 619 those Ngoni before they were defeated and driven out of Songea by the Gama group of Ngoni.

The northern Ngoni, who travelled east of the Luangwa valley into Tanganyika, acquired followers with clan descent names from the Nsenga in Northern Rhodesia and the Safwa and Sukuma in Tanganyika.

(d) 'Those from this country'

619 563 Under this category were included all the local peoples in Nyasaland who either were conquered by the Ngoni or surrendered to them, and who were brought within the rule of the Ngoni kingdoms. These in the northern kingdom were chiefly of Tumbuka and Henga clans, with others from Cewa and Bemba stock. In the central kingdom the local clan names were of Cewa and Yao origin.

101 128 Two conclusions emerge from this review of the ethnic composition of the Ngoni kingdoms. The first is that the use of Ngoni as a tribal designation causes confusion. In this study the term Ngoni will be used when referring to persons whose clan descent names show that their ancestors were of Swazi or trans-Zambesi stock—that is categories (*a*) and (*b*) in this chapter. This criterion of who were Ngoni would [161] probably not correspond with the criteria used in the 1945 census enumeration. The enumerators may have asked a direct question, 'Are you Ngoni?'; they may have asked the person's clan descent name; they may have asked to which kingdom or chiefdom he belonged; or they may have asked all four questions or any two. Since the Ngoni were found in every district in the country it was likely that there was little uniformity in the form of the questions asked by the enumerators or in the criteria admitted by those being questioned for declaring themselves to be Ngoni.

101 563 184 The second conclusion is that even if the criterion is accepted that the Ngoni were those whose ancestors crossed the Zambesi, the Ngoni kingdoms as political states included all the four elements (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*). The status of the ethnically distinct groups in the kingdoms varied according to their clan names which indicated whether they came from the south or had been incorporated at a later stage. Ngoni forms [172] of culture were found not only in groups (*a*) and (*b*), as would be expected, but often among families in group (*c*) who, through fighting in the Ngoni armies and marrying into Ngoni families, had adopted their social and ritual pattern.[1]

174 [1] Since the first draft of this book was written, Dr. Barnes's study of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, *Politics in a Changing Society* (O.U.P., 1954), has appeared. The early history of the Ngoni in the northern kingdom is the same as that of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, up to the final separation of the kingdoms under Mpezeni and Mbelwa. Dr. Barnes's excellent bibliography gives the sources for the historical documentation of their travels. A brief sketch of the history of the two groups under the leadership of the Jere and Mlanjira Paramounts is given in Mary Tew's *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

CHAPTER III

NGONI CULTURE

AMONG the mixed ethnic elements in the Ngoni kingdoms the ruling aristocracy were those whose ancestors were of Swazi and trans-Zambesi origin, and whose clan descent names established them as belonging to the true Ngoni group. The families with these clan names formed also a social aristocracy in the villages where they lived, in the areas of the chiefs and *abamuzana*, and in the Ngoni kingdoms. This social status, established primarily by the clan name, was visible in the position of the huts in the village, arranged at the head of the kraal; in the leading role played by the senior members of these families on all ceremonial occasions; and in the practice of a number of customs which were defined as Ngoni. Ngoni culture, as seen in social and ritual life, was a series of interwoven patterns of social organization and social behaviour. We shall outline these patterns here in order to bring together many of the forms and practices described in the rest of the book. In a more homogeneous society it would have been possible to find in these patterns a consistent and clearly defined culture. Yet one of the main problems in studying Ngoni culture in the 1930's was that there were many variations of each pattern and the anthropologist was all the time trying to find out what degree of cultural conformity existed among the Ngoni aristocracy. Of the different aspects of culture reviewed in this chapter, the ritual pattern was the one most consistently followed, and it was the one in which the Ngoni social aristocracy most clearly demonstrated that they had a distinctive common culture which was found in both kingdoms and in the secession states.

(*a*) *Kinship pattern*

Like the South-eastern Bantu from whom they came the Ngoni were patrilineal in descent and inheritance. Marriage was negotiated by go-betweens and concluded through the handing over of cattle, and the term *lobola* was used for the cattle exchanged in this form of marriage. An Ngoni woman married by this form was known as *mlobokazi*. A strict interpretation in the courts was given to this form of marriage as it affected the ownership and custody of the children. The children of a *lobola* marriage contract belonged to their father and could be claimed by him if the marriage broke up, or on the death of their mother. Traditionally, virilocal residence was an Ngoni custom, and it was supported by the house system whereby the male members of each house formed a group with economic interests in common through the joint ownership of the cattle in the name of the house. A widespread variant

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

121 can my country begin to understand these things?' From Somaliland and the Sudan, from British Guiana and Jamaica, from Malaya, India and Pakistan, and from all parts of Africa came these indignant reactions, and from those countries and many others I have had in letters over many years references to 'those Ngoni people you used to talk about'.

So it is with young parents and young teachers chiefly in mind, though I hope with some young anthropologists too, that this book has been written. I have for instance avoided
● 128 *as far as possible technical jargon, that seemingly essential* language in which anthropologists, educationists and many others wrap up and conceal their hidden mysteries from the common man. In the appendix will be found certain definitions of terms which have crept in and whose use has been inevitable in the Ngoni cultural setting, and also some of the vernacular terms for which I have substituted the nearest English equivalent. Here and there I have had to introduce a vernacular term but there are not many. The book is so arranged that the five narrative chapters (III to VII) follow consecutively. Chapters II and VIII are concerned with an analysis of some of the problems presented by the study, and can be skipped by those who do not like problems but want a straight story. Chapter I is I think essential to a full understanding of the narrative chapters, because Ngoni children were not brought up in a vacuum, but in a very specific political and social situation—as indeed all children are.

There will be plenty of criticism about the material and the focus in this book. Indignant young women will say 'What a poor deal the Ngoni mother had! Did the father and the grandmother really have it all their own way?' The answer is partly that a writer has to use bold outline strokes in painting his picture or it becomes hazy and lacking in purpose; and partly that young Ngoni mothers knew that one day they would be grandmothers and then they would

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

get their own back. Psychologists will say 'But this is all too positive! Positive aims in training, positive methods and, apparently, positive results. Were there no failures and breakdowns in the systems, no cleavages in the society, no maladjusted individuals?' Of course there were. Again the bold outlines have been essential in portraying a situation unfamiliar to many readers. And the rest of the answer to that criticism, as I hinted more than once in the book, lies in studies of individual Ngoni people and how they came out of the training process; and also in studies of the relation of schools and the education given in them to that somewhat rigid and self-consciously controlled Ngoni society. Both of these I hope to write one day, but this book is long enough already.

Young parents the world over are often surprised, and delighted (though not always), at the individual character shown by each of their children. They look in their children for signs of heredity and for evidence of the success or failure of their training. So did the Ngoni, and yet at the end they always came back to 'It is his own human nature'.

M. R.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

121 One more word about 'growing up'. It has in popular language often been associated with 'he just growed, like Topsy', implying a minimal amount of direction and a maximum amount of free response by a child to all external stimuli. No one can, of course, control a child's inner response to direction and training, but more often than not a child can and does learn, for a variety of reasons, to show the overt response expected by the adults who are bringing him up. The potential conflict in a child between his inner and overt responses lies within the field of individual psychological studies, and I am well aware that in this respect as in others this study is incomplete.

However, as I endeavoured to suggest in the introduction, this is a society-directed study in which the focus is on how adults bring up their children to fit into their society and to perpetuate their cultural values. The emphasis, therefore, here is on the training of children as part of the social life and cultural aims of the community, and the children's response is regarded from the angle of how they learn what the adults have to teach. Here and there I think I may have lost the thread of learning in following the thread of teaching—too close a concentration on two foci can produce a squint which is not always the best way of looking at situations. The main emphases in the training of Ngoni children, perhaps of children everywhere, are on behaviour, on skills and on knowledge. If we want to understand the process carried out by adults in training their children in any of these respects, we have to keep asking the questions, familiar to educationalists: what is taught? Who teaches it? When do they do it? In what contexts do they do it? It would be tedious in the extreme to keep on asking these questions in the following chapters, and to use this method would certainly break or hopelessly entangle the threads of learning and teaching in Ngoni society. Those questions however have been in the background and implicit all through the narrative chapters from III to VII. If readers cannot find

[128]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

time as others do in following cultural routines, he is then socialized.'

I have deliberately carried on the study of the Ngoni 'system' through what are generally called the adolescent years. In so doing I followed some of the clues in Professor Linton's discussion of how different societies treated adolescence and its alleged problems. Dr H. M. Ammar also provided a clue in his account of the sharp gulf in the Egyptian village of Silwa between child and adult, between the ways of childhood and the values of adulthood. But in sorting out the problems which the Ngoni study presented, I have drawn also on my recollection of discussions with Dr Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun about the place of adolescents in society, and whether what is commonly called 'an awkward age' is necessarily part of a child's growing up. Two particular contributions of Kurt Hahn's have thrown light on the young Ngoni adult. One was the correlation between physical stages of growth and social responsibility; and the other was the close connexion between acquiring skills which are socially valuable and essential, and the general maturing of the young adult, especially in his growing confidence in himself and in his self-respect.

On the fourth point, the effect of external changes such as schools on child training, I found much that was useful in Oscar Lewis' *Life in a Mexican Village*. It seems to me he has gone further than most anthropologists in examining the school and its methods and ideas in relation to a traditional culture and society. From an educational as well as from an anthropological angle, H. M. Ammar's analysis of the place of schools in Egyptian villages is also very stimulating.

Social horizons of Ngoni children

Most studies of child training concentrate, or at least place the main emphasis, on a child in his family setting, with the connotation of a family in the western individual sense of father, mother and their children. The subsequent chapters

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

of this book, especially Chapters IV and V will show how the organization of Ngoni society and the cultural way of living in it, necessarily surrounded the life of children and the training given to them with a much wider horizon. We shall talk about the family, the household, the village as the setting of Ngoni child life, but these terms have to be interpreted according to the Ngoni social organization, sketched very briefly in Chapter I and set out at length in my earlier book *The Ngoni of Nyasaland*. Looked at from another angle, we can see that a young child's horizon in Ngoni villages was limited at first to what he saw around him and the people who had daily or frequent contact with him and who understood and supplied his daily needs. But that circle of people forming a young child's contacts was from the beginning much wider than the individual family which a child was born into. When he began to run about and to pass beyond the restricted confines of the household, it was as we shall see, the duty and responsibility of all Ngoni adults to notice his behaviour and correct him when necessary.

The relationships inside the large Ngoni families, between one family and another in a Ngoni village, with related families in other villages, with all members of the same clan living in an area—these were threads in the web of kinship and clanship which united the Ngoni people. These threads were also inseparable from the political links between the people and their territorial chief, and between the whole people and the Paramount, the head of the kingdom. The difference, however, between the Ngoni kingdom under the Paramount which included all his subjects of Ngoni and non-Ngoni ethnic groups, and the Ngoni aristocracy in the villages was a profound difference. It was the latter who understood, appreciated and sought to hand on to their children Ngoni ways of living based on Ngoni values. Hence in most villages there were sharp distinctions between standards of behaviour within Ngoni families and in non-Ngoni families.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

mother's household if the mother showed obvious signs of being a 'bad character'. They might take the child away and put her with some relative of acknowledged 'good character', in the hope of offsetting the effects of heredity by careful training.

In later childhood and especially on the threshold of adulthood, as we shall see in Chapters VI and VII, boys and girls were expected to learn and practise traditional Ngoni skills and to be conversant with traditional Ngoni knowledge. Skills and knowledge, or rather the ability to use them, might be inherited from a parent, but they were generally regarded as acquired qualities. In any case, they needed careful training and direction in order that they might be fully developed.

Ngoni cultural values

After the Scottish Mission had been in North Nyasaland for some time, and the Bible and other Christan literature had been translated into the vernacular, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* became one of the most popular and widely read books in Ngoniland, both by older children and by adults. The reason was that its imagery portrayed so many ideas and situations which the Ngoni recognized as being relevant for them in the new world to which they had to adapt themselves. It became for Ngoni Christians, and for many others too since it was told far more often than it was read, a new kind of folk-tale, and was told as such to children in school and in the villages. The themes of striving towards a goal, and fighting lions and giants on the way, and listening to good advice as well as hearing bad—these and other themes were recognized as in the Ngoni tradition although in such a different setting.

In the final chapter of this book we shall talk about personality and character among the Ngoni, looking at the ideas of basic personality as set out by Linton and others, and trying to see how training at different stages of childhood had been converging towards the ideal personality of the Ngoni

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

128 man and woman. It will give us an opportunity of looking more closely at the values inherent in Ngoni culture and implicit in all the training of their children. I propose here only to put down a brief list of these values, in order that they may be kept in mind during the detailed narrative of the upbringing of children in the following chapters. There
181 were three main group values which Ngoni families and village and national groups had always before them: keeping together as a people; dominating but with paternal benevolence those subject to their rule; and mutual aid and trust between the individuals in the Ngoni groups. Thus there was a strong in-group feeling of interdependence contrasted with a feeling towards the out-group of kindly but firm authority.

In the realm of personal behaviour to others, respect and obedience were always expected towards elders and superiors. Self-control, involving a high degree of restraint, was expected towards superiors, equals and inferiors. Generosity was expected of everyone towards his equals and inferiors.

A group of three qualities which showed Ngoni values were always being quoted as the distinguishing marks of 'true Ngoni' men and women: physical strength with which physical courage was closely associated; persistence and thoroughness in any task undertaken or assigned; and wisdom which was sharply contrasted with being clever, and which included knowledge, good judgement, ability to control people and keep the peace, and skill in using speech.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

surroundings were described in Chapter I, but in spite of some repetition I have given a fuller description here to set the stage for the earlier years of a young Ngoni child. In several respects a casual observer, looking at the external appearance of the hut and the objects round it, might fail to distinguish between them and almost any Nyasaland village. Many of the household objects were indeed the same as those used by other Nyasaland peoples. But there was more elaboration about Ngoni huts and compounds; they were as a rule kept in an orderly and clean condition; and there was cultural significance about some of the features of Ngoni households mentioned here and in Chapter I which was not found elsewhere.

To the small child taken to his grandmother's hut at weaning, the space within the fence of her compound was full of interest. There was the hut itself which might be the 'great hut' of the village or one of those known as the 'right hand' and 'left hand' huts. It was generally circular, with interior walls some seven to eight feet high, with a conical roof of tightly packed grass neatly trimmed at the edges and decorated with cows' horns from the peak downwards in four lines. Inside the hut framing the doorway were the two main door-posts, solid and polished with much handling. Four posts in the middle of the floor went up to the rafters and supported cross-bars and a light platform on which gourds, herbs and green vegetables were dried. Under this platform, in the centre of the hut, was the hollow place for the fire and the three rounded hearthstones on which pots were balanced when cooking took place there. Against the back wall of the hut was a slightly raised platform in which were several small hollows for the round bottomed pots holding water, or grain or beans. Surrounding the entire hut was a raised veranda some four to five feet wide, shaded by the projecting roof, and generally fenced in all round the back, thus making extra storage space. All round the front of the hut was a well-swept space, mudded and polished in

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

of the emphases in training boys and girls. This was especially the case in the regulation of relations between the sexes, but new emphases were also needed in the knowledge and competence of young adults before setting up their own households. Boys and girls from this stage onwards were in fact in Ngoni culture thought of as young adults. They had passed out of childhood through the physical change at puberty, and though for a year or two that made little difference in their way of living, they were now regarded as in training for what lay ahead of them. For that training the senior members of their father's family still felt responsible and exercised control. But the emphasis in the training given was on what adults should know, how adults should behave, what adults should be able to do. For the rest of this chapter we shall follow up the new emphases in guiding and to some extent controlling relations between the sexes, and in the following chapter the emphases on cultural knowledge and on technical skills.

In the all-important sphere of heterosexual relations, there were certain social controls among the Ngoni which operated in the selection of a mate and in the form of courtship leading to marriage. Prohibited sex relations and prohibited marriages set up a pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters, between parallel cousins, and between members of the same clan, and in former days the prohibition had extended also to the children of men of the same regiment. In selecting a mate the Ngoni preference was for someone in another village, for someone of an equal ranking or higher clan, and among Christian families for a young man or girl either already baptized or under instruction. This last preference, urged strongly by the missions and by Christian parents, was often difficult to reconcile with the preference for a high-ranking clan connexion. This was illustrated in the case of a young teacher, whose parents were Christians. He found himself being given contrary advice about choosing a wife. His father died, and his grandfather, an ex-

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

not understand how Europeans could draw such a sharp line and equate ignorance with the absence of a literature and written traditions. When talking about how they instructed their young people in the traditional knowledge about the natural world and their own national law and history, they pointed out that there were no set periods for this kind of teaching, but that there was a recognition that the young man, before or about the time when he himself became a father, should know what his father knew. We will begin then with some indication of the kind of matters included in this traditional store of knowledge, recognizing that reference can be made only to a small selection from it. We will go on in the second half of the chapter to the other kind of knowledge which was inseparably connected with practical and technical skills.

Ngoni traditional knowledge: the reckoning of time

The Ngoni had a system of reckoning time and a recognized calendar. This consisted of thirteen lunar months in the year, reckoned from the first appearance of each new moon, and beginning with our December as the first month. The names of the months are all related to natural events, and these as the following list shows were in five main groups: when certain wild animals had their young; the time of bitter cold and frosts; when the hawks came to catch chickens; when certain trees fruited; when the new crops were ripe and the former first fruit ceremony took place.

NGONI NAMES FOR MONTHS

1	*Impala*	Antelopes have their young
2	*Inkokoni*	Gnu have their young
3	*Impuso*	Tasting new crops
4	*Inyati*	Buffaloes have their young
5	*Indlovu*	Elephants have their young
6	*Ilize elincinyane*	Beginning of cold weather
7	*Ilize elikulu*	Great cold weather

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

in judgement on his own son, a young man of twenty-one, for committing adultery with the wife of a man of a former slave family. The husband brought the case against the chief's son, and the chief ordered the man to speak truly and not be afraid. The case was heard amid the most deathly silence. In awarding a heavy penalty of compensation against his son, the chief spoke of the central position of law in Ngoni life, and of the fact, so sharply brought out by the case, that the law was no respecter of persons.

Young adults, boys and girls, were held personally responsible for breaches of the law which they had commited. Penalties were awarded against them as individuals, even though they often could not pay the compensation without the help of their father and his family. They were expected to become acquainted with the law in various ways. One was by conformity to accepted social codes of behaviour, instilled into them by their elders, particularly in such matters as sex relations, respect for property, avoidance of slander and of injury by violence. Another way of learning how the law operated, as well as the principles upon which the case-law was built, was by attending the courts, and listening carefully to the cross-examinations as well as to the judgements. Young people were expected also to ask their fathers, and elders generally, about points of law which they had not understood, or had confused with some of the practices of the local people. The onus was upon young adults for acquiring this knowledge of the law as well as for behaving in accordance with it. We shall see in the next chapter how the Ngoni regarded being law-abiding as one of their basic cultural traits, as well as being evidence of the individual character of a young adult.

Ngoni traditional skills

We made a distinction, albeit a rather tentative one, at the beginning of this chapter between certain kinds of traditional knowledge which we have been describing up to this

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

point, and other kinds of knowledge which in Ngoni culture were the basis for performing certain traditional activities. This second part of the chapter I have called traditional skills, to avoid the clumsiness of constantly differentiating between knowledge, skill and activities. Again, as in the first part of the chapter, we have to be selective, and I have chosen a few out of the typical Ngoni skills taught to young adults to make them efficient producers in the village economy, able to manage and direct various units of workers, and to be 'good company' in those pursuits which were for leisure time enjoyment. The young men's traditional skills which we shall look at are the care of cattle, hunting and some of their crafts; the young women's are the care of property, the storage and use of food-stuffs and some women's crafts. At the end of the chapter we shall look at certain Ngoni 'arts', which demanded individual and corporate skill of a special nature.

Men's skills: Care of cattle

The senior herd-boys, sons of cattle-owners, carried considerable responsibilities for the herds under their care during the day. By the time they gave up herding they had learned a great deal about cattle. Understanding about what constituted good herding had been handed on to them by their seniors, and they were well aware that losing an animal, failing to find good grazing so that the beasts became thin, letting them escape into the cultivated fields—all these were signs of bad herding and they would be punished accordingly by the cattle-owners. The daily scrutiny of the herds by the owners was made the occasion for blame or commendation. Every evening the owners of the cattle stood by the kraal gate as the boys drove the animals in, and the head herd-boys reported to the owners if a cow was sick, or if a bull had been mating.

Cattle-owners, since they were anxious that any cases of illness should be promptly reported, made a point of calling

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

VIII

Personality and Character

Personality, culture and character

128 The threads of teaching and learning whose ends were grasped in Chapter II have been followed through the intervening five chapters, and our task now is to see what pattern they have made of the system of training given by the Ngoni to their children. The threads have eventually been twisted 121 together to form two separate but linked strands, one the achievement of the Ngoni basic personality and the other the development of individual character. In this chapter I am going to use personality in the sense derived from Linton and Kluckhohn, namely the sum total of the traits which are desired by a society and form part of its culture, and which are instilled into children in the system of training set up by the society. Personality therefore since it is regarded as an aim in child training is a social product. The ideal personality is held up to the growing generation, not so much as a total achievement, but as the acquisition of a number of traits of behaviour, skills and knowledge. The Ngoni basic personality [157] therefore consisted of common personality elements in adults, [155] which, as Kluckhohn says, were largely a product of learning, and that learning was directed and controlled by the system of training. Character on the other hand I am going to use as the sum total of the individual's response to his training. It therefore includes his personal adjustment to the training given by the society, and, as a result, his acquiring of some or many of the basic personality traits, and hence the degree of his approximation to the ideal personality. Over and above

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

learning, and the end product of a system of training, can never be as stereotyped and as uniform as some of the exponents of personality and culture studies would have us believe.

The outlines of the ideal Ngoni personality have really been sketched in the narrative chapters, though without stopping to point out specifically that this or that aim in training is to foster a Ngoni personality trait. I shall therefore in this chapter put together these traits, and, to introduce a new element and so avoid too much repetition, some of these traits will be associated with Ngoni proverbs. But before doing this I shall discuss those Ngoni values which I believe were the foundations for their child training.

The Ngoni system of values

The chief reason for introducing at the end of this book such an involved and difficult subject as values is to suggest that there is an inevitable connexion in any society or culture between an ideal personality and the values cherished by that society. It is therefore reasonable to follow up, and to some extent to sum up, the preceding narrative chapters of this study with a glance, for it cannot be more than that, at the fundamental beliefs and values which impelled the Ngoni people to pursue certain lines in bringing up their children. We have seen that there was a continuous and clear direction in training children which I have called a system. The more deeply one analyses the nature of Ngoni culture and the organization of Ngoni society, the clearer it becomes that there were certain definite values which they clung to as a result of their experience and of their reflection upon their past history and present and future prospects. In so far as these values were integrated into an intelligible whole, we can call them a system of values, but the recognition of such a system does not preclude the recognition also of some isolated values which do not appear to fit into an integrated system.

One of the major difficulties in examining the values of a non-literate culture is the inevitable subjective approach of

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

the observer or anthropologist. One such observer might pursue the line suggested by the use of different persons of the verb and different pronouns in personal contacts, and the values inherent in such standardized usage. Another might choose to examine the institution of the boys' dormitory and its contribution to the total value system. Another might take the different emphases in bringing up boys and girls in relation to the fact that men were the permanent element in village society and that girls left the village on marriage. A dozen more examples could be taken from the narrative chapters of this study and usefully followed up. They would all illustrate, in the first instance, the subjective nature of the initial selection, whether the final results of several different investigations made a coherent integrated system or not. They would also illustrate the uncharted area of such studies, where there is little to guide the observer and the analyst, in spite of the growing interest in recent years in studying the value systems of non-literate societies.

Among the leads which I found most useful has been Professor Monica Wilson's *Good Company*, to which I referred in Chapter I, where she associated cultural values with the age-village system in Nyakusa society. I owe much also to help and suggestions given to me at Harvard by Professor Cora Du Bois and Dr Ethel Albert, and to Professor Kluckhohn and his associates in discussions on their published and projected series on the study of values.

The relation between Ngoni values and their ideal personality pattern is based on the study of their society and culture described in my earlier book, and on the analysis of their system of bringing up children in this book. I referred in Chapter II to certain values as group values and to others as personal values. I am not sure that the distinction is a valid one, but it is a convenient form of classification and it corresponds closely to the Ngoni way of thinking. They were continually referring to their society, or a local community in it, as if it were an integrated whole, and to the effect of

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

113 2. *Growing up in New Guinea.* Kegan Paul, 1939—Penguin, 1954. These were two pioneer studies in the Pacific.
3. *New Worlds for Old.* Gollancz, 1956. The New Guinea area was revisited after 25 years. See especially chapters V, XIII and XIV for Dr. Mead's assessment of her former study.

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II

DEFINITIONS

● 128 CULTURE, the total way of living of a people, including kinship relations, economy, religion and magic, law, government, language, myths, child training etc.

[563] ETHNIC GROUP, used here instead of tribe because the Ngoni kingdoms and villages included several tribes. (See Ngoni of Nyasaland p. 1–6).

614 565 CLAN, exogamous group related through male line with a common clan name used in address. True Ngoni clans formed the aristocracy (See Ngoni of Nyasaland p. 116).

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

APPENDIX

HOUSE, HUT, HOUSEHOLD, house is used in this book for the Ngoni system of grouping round the leading women who were wives or mothers of the head of the village. Hut is used for the actual building. Household is used for a group of huts within a compound, (See diagrams in Chapter IV. See also Ngoni of Nyasaland page 122).

PATRILOCAL), refers to residence of young couple after marriage

MATRILOCAL), —sometimes called virilocal and uxorilocal.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TERMS, extension of use of father, mother, brother, sister etc. to wide range of relatives.

PARALLEL COUSINS, children of father's brothers or mother's sisters—regarded as brothers and sisters and called such.

CROSS COUSINS, children of father's sisters or mother's brothers—with whom marriage was possible.

AGE-SETS, the special Ngoni terms are given in 'Ngoni of Nyasaland' page 144.

all children: *abantwana*

young men: *amajaha*

young girls before puberty: *inkakazana*

young girls after puberty: *izintombi*

III

VERNACULAR TERMS

AKULU	the important people
ALEZI	nursemaids
GOGO	grandparent or any very senior person
HLONIPA	respect
INDLUNKULU	chief hut in a village
INDUNA	official in village
IZIDANDANI	girl attendants
LAWENI	boys' dormitory
MWINI	owner—of a hut, cattle, dance group

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was first drafted to supply information on Ngoni marriage to the African Marriage Survey organized by the International African Institute and the International Missionary Council. It is based on inquiries made in the field while I was on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. My fieldwork would have been impossible without the generous co-operation and assistance of many friends, European and African; I hope to be able to mention them by name in a later publication. However I must here acknowledge my debt to Mr. M. B. Lukhero, for help with this inquiry; to Professor Gluckman and my colleagues of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, for comments on this paper in draft; to Miss B. Pole for secretarial assistance; and to my wife for help in the field and in writing up.

Professor Schapera has kindly pointed out that my use of the term 'band' for a group of wives is likely to cause confusion, as this word has other technical uses in anthropology. He has suggested the term 'bevy' in lieu. It has not been possible to make the change in this paper, but readers should substitute 'bevy' for 'band' throughout.

J. A. Barnes

London, June 1950

information is insufficient for any reconstruction in great detail, but the general principles are clear and to some extent our conclusions can be checked by reference to material from other areas, particularly the nineteenth century accounts of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland and the Zulu. The account of present-day marriage is based on information collected in the field during 1940-9.*

The period of the 1890's is chosen for comparison with the present because of the catastrophic change in Ngoni life which occurred in 1898 when they were defeated by the British. Old people who were alive during the period are still available for questioning and many younger people have been told of those times by their parents and grandparents. Although Ngoni cannot generally remember beyond their grandparents, genealogies collected now yield some information about the 1880's and link that period to the present. Important social changes occurred in 1898, changes which for the greater part were, and still are, regretted by the Ngoni, and these accentuate the difference between time present and time past. The past is recollected and recreated and has a moral value. Children are taught the glories of the past to compensate them for the inadequacies of the present. The teaching of tribal history as a school subject reinforces this view. With the passage of time the past has been idealised and simplified but the picture is still clear enough for us to be able to distinguish probable fact from unlikely rationalisation. Marriage in 'the time of peace', as the period prior to 1898 is called, is one aspect of this picture.

Marriage is one part of kinship, for it is by the twin processes of marriage and childbirth that the web of kinship is spun. For the purposes of our analysis we have had to sever marriage from its context in what may appear at times rather an arbitrary fashion. A society is a whole, if not always a well integrated whole, and no one part of it can be fully understood without a simultaneous knowledge of all its other parts. Societies persist, more or less, through time, and it is clear that we cannot hope to grasp the total significance of the working of a society at any one time without a knowledge of the changes or lack of change in that society both before and after. Yet we cannot marshal all these relationships simultaneously, let alone present them through the medium of words. Our attempt to comprehend the present cannot wait until we have full knowledge of the future, and our analysis of one sector of a system must proceed in advance of our synthesis of the whole. Ngoni society has persisted through the last sixty years rather less than more, and it may well be argued that present-day Ngoni society is poorly integrated. Nevertheless it is to be hoped that an analysis of Ngoni marriage may, on the one hand, demonstrate

* I made two visits to the Fort Jameson Ngoni while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, spending in all a year and eight months there. I was assisted by my clerk, Mr. M. B. Lakhoni, in inquiring into former conditions as well as observing contemporary social life.

[P.1]

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE IN THE TIME OF PEACE

1. *The old social structure*

IN THE DAYS before the European conquest, the Ngoni people lived in large villages each containing hundreds of huts built round a central cattle byre. Each married woman had her own hut and there were separate dormitories for boys and for girls. The huts were grouped into small clusters, each containing the dwellings of a few close agnates with their wives and children under the leadership of the senior male agnate. If the leader of the cluster was an important person, captives taken in war were allocated to him and their huts were included in his own cluster. Clusters were grouped into divisions, each usually under the control of a village lieutenant. Within the same division the heads of clusters were either agnates of the lieutenant or were people who had been captured by him or his father or who had been allocated to him by the chief and who were therefore bound to him as quasi-kinsmen. Several divisions made up a village under a headman or a regional governor. The village lieutenants were dependents or former captives of the headman or his ancestors, and were allocated to their divisions by him. Some divisions were under the control of junior kinsmen of the headman. Each village was attached to a royal headquarters where there was a senior queen. This arrangement of clusters, divisions, villages, and royal headquarters, which I refer to as the residential system, seems to have been similar to that found to-day among the Swazi.[1]

The system was a growing one. Brothers brought up in the same cluster gradually achieved their independence and split off to establish clusters of their own. The heads of clusters grew in importance and were promoted to village lieutenants so that their clusters became divisions, while divisions grew too large to be contained within the villages and moved off to establish themselves as separate villages. This process of expansion did not in itself affect the formal hierarchy of authority. The lieutenant who established his own village as a distinct spatial entity still remained a lieutenant of his lord, and deferred to him in matters of importance. The same word[2] was used to refer to a division of a royal headquarters, a division of a village, and a cluster within a division. The relationships of superordination and subordination between persons remained the same despite changes in spatial separation.

[1] Cf. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 66.
[2] *Cigawo*, pl. *zigawo*, from *ku-gawa*, to divide.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

583 was left to the discretion of her father. 'Snuff-box' was handed over before the man began to sleep with his bride while bridewealth could be paid either then or later after the woman had borne children. Once bridewealth had been paid the rights of the man's group were definitely established and, in the event of the man's death, one of [581] his younger brothers became the widow's pro-husband in leviratic marriage.

583 851 The significance of bridewealth is clearly indicated by the procedure followed in marriages in which it was not paid. If a man paid 'snuff-box' and then died before he paid bridewealth, the children of the marriage belonged to his wife's kinsmen and not to his kinsmen. His brothers could secure the woman as the wife of one of them, and the children as legitimate members of their segment, by payment of bridewealth. It is said that a woman could refuse to go to a brother of her dead husband under these conditions but that she could not refuse to give up the children to the husband's kinsman who paid bridewealth. If although bridewealth had been paid she went off and married another unrelated man the children she bore to her new husband belonged to her dead husband's kin.

583 Some informants say that if a man died without having paid bridewealth his sons were under an obligation to pay cattle to their mother's kin on behalf of their dead father, but I did not hear of any instance in which this had been done. Similarly it is said that if a man had paid bridewealth but had never been given a linked co-wife, his son could claim a wife from the kin of the woman for whom bridewealth had been handed over. Other informants deny this possibility, and say that it was the man's son's son who could have made this claim. I did not hear of any instances of either practice in the past and when recently a chief tried to claim a wife on the strength of bridewealth offered by his father, he failed.

[127] [154] Important men sometimes married female captives and no bridewealth passed. These wives were usually not of high status and their sons founded lines junior to those of sons by other wives for whom bridewealth had been paid.

583 183 The general impression gained from the tales of old informants and from the contemporary literature is that 'snuff-box' and bridewealth were paid in most marriages. The evidence, such as it is, from a survey of the marriages experienced since birth by men and women alive in 1946-9 suggests that this was not so. The way in which this survey was conducted is described below.[13] The information on pre-1898 marriages is set out in Tables I and II. [128]

It will be seen that in half (7 out of 14) of these marriages, no payments at all were offered. In the marriage in which 'snuff-box' was offered it consisted not of a beast but of a quantity of tobacco. In about a third of the marriages the only payment made was the 'legalization payment', which traditionally was not part of the pre-1898 [276]

[13] See pp. 221.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

marriage system. We shall discuss the legalization payment at some length in the succeeding chapters, for it is the most important of all the payments made in modern marriage. A possible explanation of its occurrence in these early marriages is that although the marriages themselves were made before 1898, the payments were made considerably later. The amounts alleged to have been handed over as legalization payments may have been regarded as 'snuff-box' at the time of payment although they are now referred to as legalization payments, either because of the general obsolescence of the term 'snuff-box' or because my informants thought I would know the new term and not the old one. Another possibility is that even before 1898 the vernacular term for legalization payment (*cimalo*) was in use as a synonym for 'snuff-box'. The term itself was certainly in use among neighbouring tribes before 1898.

This is a very small sample from which to draw any conclusions, but it is of value in suggesting where the reality of social life differed

Table I. Pre-1898 marriage payments: incidence

Payments made	Number of marriages
'Snuff-box' only	1
Bridewealth only	1
Legalization payment only	5
None	7
Total	14
Not known if any payments were made or not	4
Grand total	18

In this sample there were no pre-1898 marriages in which more than one kind of payment was made

Table II. Pre-1898 marriage payments: magnitude

Payment	Magnitude	Number of marriages
'Snuff-box'	Handful of tobacco	1
Bridewealth	8 beasts	1
Legalization payment	1 beast	2
	1 chicken	1
	Cloth	1
	Not known	1
	Total	5

from the recollections of informants and the accounts of contemporary writers. Even in a society as rapidly expanding as was the Ngoni before 1898, the majority of the population at any one time consists of people who are politically unimportant. What were remembered and what was recorded at the time were the marriages of leaders and their close relatives. It is they, more than others, who were distinctively Ngoni, and it was by their actions that the values of Ngoni society were emphasized and developed. Their marriages were important in maintaining tribal solidarity and it is the system exemplified in these marriages that we have been describing. But the recent captives, the poor, the unsuccessful warriors, the junior sons of junior sons, they also married and their marriages were at least as numerous as those of their more fortunate brethren, despite the large bands of wives acquired by successful men.

The data in our sample provide suggestions as to both the relative frequency of marriage without payment and the kind of relationship that held between payment and status of spouse. The eight cattle were offered by one of Mpezeni's senior lieutenants as bridewealth for the daughter of a man of Nsenga origin. Two junior sons of this lieutenant each offered a beast as legalization payment for a wife, one of whom was the daughter of a divisional head. A legalization payment of unknown magnitude was made in a marriage between a village headman and a daughter of another of Mpezeni's senior lieutenants. These four marriages we may regard as important marriages between people of high status accompanied by marriage payments which usually were substantial. Among persons of low status we find that in six out of the seven marriages in which no payment was made, one or both of the spouses had been captured. Intermediately we have the remaining two marriages in which the legalization payment was made and the one in which 'snuff-box' was paid, all involving people of low or middle status and accompanied by relatively small payments, namely a chicken, some cloth, and tobacco. This positive correlation between status and payment holds for thirteen out of the fourteen marriages, but one marriage without payment was between one of the same junior sons of the lieutenant and the daughter of a man of Kalanga origin.

From such evidence as there is, it seems probable that marriages between people of high status were usually accompanied by substantial payments. At the same time, many of the marriages of people of low status and some of the unimportant marriages of men of high status took place without payments. What proportion of the total these marriages accounted for we cannot now ever hope to know. However since they amount to half of our pre-1898 sample it seems probable that they constituted a considerable fraction of all the marriages contracted at that time.

The payment of 'snuff-box' and bridewealth were the crucial events establishing a marriage, but there were a number of other transfers of beer and cattle, and a number of ceremonies without

[P.22]

CHAPTER III

HUSBANDS AND WIVES

1. The field of modern marriage

581 MARRIAGE nowadays among the Ngoni still regulates the sexual activities of man and wife and determines the responsibility for the care of their young children, the inheritance of their property, and succession to office. To a lesser extent it still determines residence and establishes relationships between a partner to the marriage and his or her affines. It is an institution which involves sooner or later almost every Ngoni man or woman who survives into adulthood. The number of people who die adult and [826] unmarried is very small. Even albinos, who are regarded generally with disgust, usually succeed in marrying. The only people who 589 fail to marry at all are: seriously crippled people who are regarded as not strong enough to look after themselves; a few prostitutes who [548] acquire a reputation for wantonness before they have managed to find a husband and who live in a succession of temporary alliances with men in and around the township of Fort Jameson; and a category of persons known as 'quite useless people',[1] that is, people [828] who are mad or in some way deranged so that they are unable to settle down in any place and are always wandering about from village to village, begging shelter, beer and food.

A man who does not marry, or who remains divorced or widowed for many years, is regarded as unusual, and others say of him that he must smell like a he-goat so that no woman will have him. A man in his twenties without a wife is laughed at by the married women, who despise him as impotent. Very few men in fact stay long without a wife, and of people whose personalities are regarded as normal it is only a few old widowers who do not have a wife to cook for them and sleep with them. Some women stay for longer without a husband, partly because of the numerical preponderance [162] of women over men caused by labour migration.

● 128 Some idea of the extent to which marriage affects everyone sooner or later is given by Tables III and IV. These tables, like all the others in this paper, are based on information collected systematically 121 from six Ngoni villages. Two of these villages, containing 257 and 142 residents, situated twenty-five miles apart and in different counties, were selected for me to live in by the county chiefs con- [531] cerned. The remaining four villages containing 143, 104, 55 and 45 residents, were close together but in a third county and twenty miles away from the other two.

[1] *Cisilu*, pl. *sisilu*, or else *umntu mutyalatyala*. Cf. Nsenga *silu*, pl. *masilu*, idiot.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

away from the other two. They were the four most accessible from my base camp, built at a site chosen by the Administration. I was able to compare their size, history, and kinship structure with those of many other villages I visited, and as far as I could tell they were in these respects fairly typical Ngoni villages. They form a sample of approximately one per cent of the whole of the Fort Jameson Ngoni.

The tables in which the units are individuals or extant marriages (III, IV, IX, X, XIII and XIV) are based on the marital histories of the men and woman normally resident in those villages during the latter part of 1948, in one village, and during the earlier part of 1949 in the other five. In Tables I, II, V to VIII, XI and XII, where the units are marriages and not individuals, I have drawn on the histories of men and women who lived in these villages as wedded people for at least part of the time from 1946 to 1949. I endeavoured to interview the whole population but failed to do so for various reasons. I was however, able to determine who was, and who was not, a resident in these villages, and can therefore indicate the number of people who could have been included in this six-village sample had more been known about them. Some of my interviews were only partial.

In Tables V to VIII, which deal with the incidence and magnitude of marriage payments, each marriage is classified by the decade in which it began. This is not necessarily the decade in which the payment was made, for as we have noted payments are sometime made after many years of marriage. Unfortunately I do not have enough information to classify by the decade of payment.

In the tables I have used the word 'wedded' to refer to all people who had ever been married, whether or not they were currently married at the time of inquiry.

It will be seen from Table III that in this sample there was no unwedded man over the age of twenty-four, and, out of a total of 116 wedded men, there were only one widower and seven men whose last marriage had ended in divorce and who had not remarried. From Table IV we see that there was only one unwedded woman over the age of nineteen, but that there were as many as 31 widows who had not remarried. Only about a half, 122 out of 223, of the wedded women were living with their husbands.

Marriage is then an experience that sooner or later comes to nearly every man or woman, although not every adult lives all the time in a simple family of procreation. Nevertheless, the ties forged by marriage remain, and the results of marriage extend beyond the wedding ceremony and beyond the domestic association of man and wife. It is the sexual activities of individuals that are most closely regulated by the fact of marriage. In succession to office and wealth, marriage, as we shall see, plays nowadays a permissive rather than a determining role. It is only by means of the symbolic acts which form part of marriage that a man can be reasonably sure of acquiring rights over his wife and the custody of his children. Yet he may,

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

cousin comes from another village she can become the great wife. This lack of consensus about the appropriateness of payments may be due to the difference between the traditional views of the Nguni aristocrats and of their more recent captives. The Nguni tribes, although not allowing cross-cousin marriage, did require transfers of marriage cattle. In contrast to them, the Cewa and others who approved of cross-cousin marriages did not make large marriage payments. It may be that neither view has prevailed over the other among the present-day Ngoni.

When I began my inquiries into marriage I hoped to express numerically the frequencies with which people married their cross-cousins and other relatives. As my inquiries proceeded, it became clear that this was not the simple matter I had thought it to be. There was little consistency in the way in which the word *mvyala*, which I have translated as cross-cousin, was used by different informants. Sometimes one spouse would say that the other was a cross-cousin and the other would deny it. In addition to the expected use of the term to refer to father's own or classificatory sister's child, and to mother's own or classificatory brother's child, it was also used for 'person with a parent with the same descent-name as mine', 'person from the same tribe', 'person with the same captor', and so on. Some informants regarded the alleged cross-cousin relationship as a primary one that could not necessarily be broken down into a series of links between parents and children and between siblings. If pressed, informants would often say in explanation 'One of us came from the side of the man and the other from the side of the woman'; yet they would be unable to decide who came from the man's side and who from the woman's. This complexity of reference of the term for cross-cousin applies to a lesser extent to the terms for other relatives with whom marriage takes place. In view of the lack of consensus and of the large number of possible referents of single vernacular terms, I have thought it best to postpone publication of any frequencies until later, when I hope to deal with the general problem of inter-connectedness between local groups of kin.

We have mentioned above the prohibitions against marrying certain relatives and the partial encouragement to marry a cross-cousin. In addition, a man should not marry his brother's wife's sister, and some people say that a man ought not to marry his sister's husband's sister. Both these women he calls *sibling-in-law*. These are not exactly definite prohibitions, but rather pieces of traditional advice. Marriage with these relatives does occur. No specific reason was given for this prohibition, but I noticed that a quarrel in one marriage tended to have repercussions in the marriages of the spouses' siblings, and the objection to these types of marriage may be based on some consideration of this kind.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

842 wherever they decide to settle. Children are still valuable. A barren woman is pitied, and a man's impotence is whispered about behind his back. Men and women seek fertility, and a man tries to conceal his impotence. A woman who does not want to bear children is regarded as irresponsible.

We have seen that the traditional solution for barrenness was to introduce a linked co-wife, but this is now rarely done. A woman can either look for medicines[15] to make her fertile, or, if she is unsuccessful, she may beg children from a fertile sister. These children will stay with her while they are young, but they are not thought of or talked about as being her own children.

No clear distinction is drawn between impotence and sterility, and men who are said to be impotent are also known to commit adultery. A sterile husband does not find favour with his wife or with her relatives, who want her to have children to care for her when she grows old. If medicines fail to cure a man's sterility, and it is thought that the lack of children is due to him and not to his wife, then he may call in an acquaintance to sleep with his wife so that [837] she may conceive. For this task, it is said that a man will choose a person whose discretion he can trust, but one on the fringe of his acquaintance who will not feel disposed to gossip maliciously about the incident afterwards. Thus it is said that a man would never ask his brother to do this. If the woman bears a child then at some [431] later date the husband gives a goat to the progenitor, hoping that people will not connect the present with the birth of the child.

Sterility is a shameful thing and men do not easily admit to it. [128] My information on the procedure followed in specific instances is based only on village gossip and not on admissions by the men and women concerned. Although it is agreed that a sterile man may feel 842 forced to call in a seed-raiser the whole matter must remain secret. 837 There must be no loophole by which adultery might be condoned. In the words of an informant,

> A man may be impotent and may ask someone to copulate with his wife so that she may have children. This man coming to copulate with his wife comes in secret as it is considered a disgraceful thing among the people of the family and the rest of the village if they know, yet the people in the village know very well sometimes. In the old days the same thing happened, but if a man coming to sleep with the woman came in an open way, and everyone knew of his sleeping with the wife of an impotent man, he was to be killed by the chief, even though the impotent man asked him to do this work for him. The person coming to do this work of copulating with this woman was to be paid a cow or a goat for the work that he did. In these days it happens.

The sterile husband takes the risk that his friend will continue sleeping with the woman after she has conceived. I have recorded

[15] Called *cisawa*. The first child born after the successful administration of this medicine is sometimes called Cisawa.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

586 692 562 although the evidence presented during the hearing of the case has established the husband's fault as the ground for divorce.

Only if there is dispute over the matter will the court make an order about the division of crops. The principles of division are 586 that the crops belong to those who worked hard to grow them and that the children of the marriage have to be fed by the parent with whom they live, whoever may eventually have their custody. Thus in a case in which a woman successfully pleaded for divorce because of her husband's cruelty, the court awarded all the crops in the couple's garden to the husband, as the woman had been lazy and had done only a little towards their cultivation.

[583] Bridewealth is not automatically returned on divorce and as we have seen, divorce is the time for paying bridewealth rather than for retrieving it. The disposal of the children of a divorced couple is regarded as a separate issue and to be treated on its own merits.

● [128] It is useful to have some quantitive estimate of divorce frequency, but the construction of a satisfactory measure is not easy. One aspect of the occurrence of divorce is presented in Tables IX and X, where the number of divorces experienced by wedded men and women of different ages is set out.

It will be seen that, considering only those wedded men and women whose divorces are known, the mean number of divorces per head of wedded population is 0·49 (51/104) for men and 0·30 (62/210) for women. This difference may be due in part to a greater reluctance on the part of women to admit to divorce, but is also due to the greater mobility of men. While women stay at home, their husbands go off to marry in the towns, divorcing their urban wives when they return home or when the strange rural environment proves intolerable to the women from the towns.

581 586 By considering the number of years that marriages have lasted, it is possible to say what is the mean duration of marriage. The necessary information was available for 403 marriages extant as well as completed, experienced by men and women who were resident in the sample villages. The mean duration of all these marriages is 15·6 years, and the mean duration of the marriages that ended in divorce is 6·6 years. The median duration of all marriages is, to the nearest year, 8 years, and of marriages ended in divorce, 5 years. More divorces occurred in the period from four-and-a-half years to five-and-a-half years after marriage than in any other similar one-year period.[25]

128 For comparison with other societies, we can express as a ratio the relationship between the number of marriages that ended in divorce and the number that did not or have not yet done so. This can be done in three ways, as set out in Table XI.

[25] There is no space here to give the method by which these calculations were made, but see my 'Measures of divorce frequency in simple Societies' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxxix (1949) (pp. 37-62).

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

claims. In retrospect, when discussing an erstwhile 'poorly fixed' marriage that has broken up, people will say 'That was not a proper marriage', and 'She was just his friend'. In all the tables we have excluded 'poorly fixed' marriages from consideration.

The initiative in strengthening a 'poorly fixed' marriage lies with the man and not with the woman's relatives. If their daughter is living with a man who has not made the legalization payment they cannot bring him to court and force him to pay. If their daughter has only just passed puberty there may be grounds for an abduction suit, but if she has been married before or is considered old enough to decide for herself, her relatives are unlikely to take any action in the courts against her husband. The woman cannot be forced to return to her own people. Similarly if no bridewealth has been paid, the children cannot be forced to live in one village rather than in the other. They can be asked to do so, but they cannot be taken to court if they refuse.

All 'poorly fixed' marriages are marriages without payments, but not all marriages without payment are 'poorly fixed'. It will be seen from Table XII that no payments at all have been offered in about a third of the marriages in our sample. In some of the marriages for which there have been offers of payment, these consist only of the small present given as 'snuff-box' [1] in modern marriage. Yet these marriages are valid despite the paucity or absence of payment. Many of them have lasted for a long time and the lack of payment is almost forgotten. It would be an act of maliciousness on the part of the woman's relatives if after twenty years of happy married life they began to remind her husband that he had not yet made the legalization payment. With the increasing importance of marriage certificates on which the legalization payment is recorded, and the rise in power of the Native Authority, the position may well change in years to come. At present, most marriages without payments are more like marriages with payment than they are like the unions of men with concubines and prostitutes. The persevering inquirer may unearth the lack of payments, but in the day-to-day life of the village, as well as in many of the formal situations of marriage, this lack is not significant. In the work of the garden, in the sharing of food, on festive occasions when there is beer and dancing, there is no distinction between wives married in one way or the other. More significantly, we find instances where despite the absence of any payments, beer has been brewed for a daughter's husband and he has been invited to go through the ceremony of 'entering the wife's mother's hut'. Some marriages are solemnized in church, with the approval of the parents on both sides, without any payments being made. The rules of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother operate independently of the marriage payments, and widows are subject to the same restrictions

[1] *Mfuko, camulomo, cavulamulomo.* See above, p. 39, n. 18.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

village to another. An indication of the relative frequency with which different types of marriage residence occur is given by Table XIII. This table is based on all the extant marriages involving the 98 married men whose wives were known and the 175 married women, as shown in Tables III and IV. A distinction is made in Table XIII between those marriages in which the man lived with his wife or in a village near her and those in which the man was effectively absent.

We may now assess the relative frequency of virilocal and uxorilocal residence by extracting those marriages falling into either one or other of these residential categories and by then dividing the number of virilocal contracts by the number of uxorilocal. This is done in Table XIV.

It will be seen that although there were three marriages in which both spouses lived virilocally for every one in which they both lived uxorilocally, this preponderance of virilocality was reversed in those marriages in which the man was absent. There were approximately three wives who lived uxorilocally while their husbands were away for every two who lived virilocally. This difference between the ratios in the two parts of the sample is not likely to have arisen as a chance result and may be regarded as definitely associated with the whereabouts of the husband.

On the basis of these figures we may continue to call the Ngoni a virilocal rather than an uxorilocal people, but it is evident from the last column of Table XIII that virilocal marriages amount to slightly less than half (47·3 per cent) of all extant marriages. It should also be remembered that by no means all of the couples we have classified as virilocal were living in the village of the man's father. We have included in this category all marriages in which the man had definitely stronger ties to the other inhabitants of their village than had his wife. Our definition of the uxorilocal category is similar and not all uxorilocal couples were living in the woman's mother's village.[8] A more detailed examination of the frequencies with which these different kinds of marriage residence occur will be attempted elsewhere.

We have already noted that a man who goes to live in the village of his bride takes on the care of her garden and works in it with her. The produce of the garden is pooled with whoever was looking after the bride, and the young couple draw their food from this common store.[9] A man who does not intend to stay long in his wife's village will usually try to keep his own garden under cultivation near his own village and when he takes his wife back to his village he reverts to his own garden as his main source of supply. If the two villages are a long way apart this may not be practicable, or the man may find it irksome to keep two gardens going, and may lend his own to someone else on the understanding that he will be wanting it back

[8] See below, pp. 75f.
[9] See above, p. 42.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 74--ANALYST]

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

[P.105]

CHAPTER V

SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

1. Old and new marriage

WE HAVE described marriage at two periods in Ngoni history, as it was in the 1890's and as it is now. The differences we have found between the two periods are not due to chance except in the sense in which we may speak of all historical incidents as being partly due to chance and partly determined by the limiting conditions imposed by the past. Changes in the field of Ngoni marriage have been paralleled by changes in other aspects of Ngoni social life, have been influenced by other changes and have in turn influenced them. Throughout Ngoni history men and women have always married, but the society in which they married has changed. Marriage in the time of peace was appropriate, more or less, to the general ordering of social life in those days, and modern marriage is appropriate, again more or less, to the social structure of today.

Our task is then a threefold one. We have to show the relationship between old marriage and the rest of the old society, a similar relationship between modern marriage and modern society, and the process by which the transition from one set of conditions to the other has come about. We have outlined in Chapter II some of the internal and external factors responsible for this transition, and the nature of the material available to us on the 1890 period has led us, in Chapter I, to describe the old system largely in analytic terms. In this chapter we shall attempt to clarify our picture of the past in the light of an analysis of modern marriage.

In the old days the residential system provided the framework for political and lineage ties. Marriage was a legitimate means whereby children were recruited into segments of the system. Marriage involved a permanent transfer of fertility from the woman's kin to her husband's kin. Adultery was punishable by death, and divorce was rare. Affinal ties cut across the cleavage lines of the residential system, but while these ties were important, a man could not transfer his allegiance to his wife's or to his mother's group. A man who quarrelled with his kinsmen could not move to another village to live, but could only hive off to form a dependent but recognizable cluster of his own, which still remained part of the same residential segment.

The material apparatus belonging to the system, that is, the great villages with hundreds of huts and central cattle byres, was to a large extent destroyed in 1898 by the British. A few important people in the system were killed, and many of the cattle looted. With the establishment of British rule, it was physically possible for the

5: Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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PREFACE

The four papers reproduced here deal with a method of estimating land carrying capacities for human populations under African conditions and systems of land usage, and the application of this method to the study of practical problems. The method itself is based on Trapnell's work on the soils and agricultural systems of the Territory, and details of the method as applied in practice have largely been evolved in collaboration between him and the author, with material assistance from other members of the Agricultural Department.

The first paper gives an outline of the technique used in carrying out detailed studies of land problems in the Eastern and Western Provinces of Northern Rhodesia. The basic conceptions of land deterioration and population carrying capacity, the relation of Native land usage to the vegetation-soil unit and the factors involved in the estimation of critical densities, which are discussed in this account, have already been referred to in Trapnell's *Ecological Report on North-Eastern Rhodesia* (paras. 37–41, 79 and 302–26). The main emphasis in Trapnell's account, however, is on the land deterioration aspect, whereas in the present essay the subject is given fuller treatment from the population standpoint and in the light of recent work on the redistribution of populations.

The second paper consists of a report, submitted to Government in 1940, on a reconnaisance survey of conditions in the area of the Lamba Chief Mushiri. This survey was the first attempt to apply the conception of land carrying capacity and the method of estimation to the study of a specific practical problem. Shortly afterwards the method was applied, on a vastly greater and more detailed scale, to the resettlement of congested populations in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province. In 1943 further study was given to the whole proplem of the concentration of populations, including that of Mushiri's area, about the southern and eastern rim of the Copperbelt. In the interval a Government Land Commission had visited the area. This Commission reported that the predictions made in the original report were being rapidly fulfilled and recommended the immediate grant of additional land under controlled settlement. Resettlement of populations from Mushiri and other overcrowded chieftaincies was started in 1943 and all of the recommendations contained in the original report have now been carried out or are in process of completion (see Annual Reports of the Agricultural Department, 1943–6). It will be noted that the Vegetation-Soil units have been revised and that other factors in the method of estimation have been somewhat modified, as a result of greater knowledge, since the original pioneer survey was made.

The third paper is a report, presented to Government in October 1944, on the vexed question of the adequacy or otherwise of the native reserves

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in the Mkushi District and the additions which have from time to time been made to them. This study deals with two somewhat more complex systems, both in a state of change, in which *chitemene* and hoe cultivation methods are combined. The report was followed, after further study, by an annexure (not reproduced here as it contains little of general interest) giving details of the proposed land additions and population transfers, and precise suggestions for measures to improve land usage which might be carried out by Native Authorities. Most of these suggestions have been adopted by the Native Authorities concerned.

It will be realized that both the Mushiri and Mkushi reports are strictly reconnaissance surveys intended to define the nature and scope of specific problems, to indicate what immediate measures may be necessary, and to pave the way for further more detailed study and survey on the lines indicated in the first paper.

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The fourth paper gives a brief and general account of the resettlement work which has been carried out, or is in process of completion, in Northern Rhodesia. It, like the first paper, was written in reply to numerous enquiries as to the technique, methods and objects of resettlement. None of the papers was intended for publication at the time it was written, but it is thought that their presentation may be of some value as a contribution to the study of the relationship between the African and his land.

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The question of land usage and its relation to the available supply of land is, of course, only one aspect of the general problem of African development. The life of the African is so intimately bound up with his land that one may almost say that there is no problem concerning him which is purely agricultural; just as there are few problems which are purely administrative, political, sociological, medical or veterinary. All of these aspects are often intimately, sometimes inextricably, bound together as integral parts of the one common problem.

In recent surveys, of which it is hoped to publish an example shortly, sociologists of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute have co-operated closely with officers of the Agricultural Department in the study of specific aspects of a common problem. Extension of this co-operative method of approach offers the best hope for the solution of many of the problems of African land usage.

But such studies, to be of full practical value, must take into account the effects of changing conditions. The industrial and economic changes which are to be expected within the next decade will profoundly affect the whole structure of African life and will, to a very large extent, determine the pattern and speed of rural development.

Mazabuka,
5 November 1947.

W. A.

[p. iv]

5:Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Other areas of the Territory, notably the reserves of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, provide similar examples for different systems and land categories. In the second Report of the Ecological Survey (North Eastern Rhodesia, paras. 316–20) Trapnell records a wide range of observations on areas where land degeneration and soil erosion had become marked, in relation to land categories, population densities and the time factor. These observations provide independent evidence of the relatively low carrying capacity of much of our land under the traditional systems, and they accord well with the estimates obtained by the methods outlined in this paper.

161 311 511 [114] [128]

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113

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5: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
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Maravi FR4

of mixed farming would not have solved the problem without the transfer of a considerable proportion of the people.

§. 2. *Recommendations of the Land Commission*

In 1941 a large part of the land held by the North Charterland Exploration Company in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts was acquired by Government, and in 1942 a Land Commission was appointed which included in its terms of reference the making of 'full provision for the agricultural requirements of the Natives'. This Commission recommended that some 5,600 square miles of unalienated Crown Land in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts, about 2,000 square miles in the Mkushi District and 4,800 square miles in the Ndola District, should be constituted Native Trust Land and made available for Native occupation.

§ 3. *The Problem of Resettlement*

The problem then resolved itself into making the best possible use of the additional land, and using it in such a way as to restore the population-land balance where this could be done. It was not, of course, possible, even if it had been desirable, to recreate the primary population-land pattern, but the grant of additional land gave an opportunity of creating a planned tertiary pattern to replace the arbitrary secondary pattern.

Such planning requires a detailed knowledge of the land and of the agricultural systems employed on it. Fortunately the basic knowledge had already been provided by the Ecological Survey of the Territory. The vegetation-soil method, evolved by Trapnell, provided a rapid and reliable means of land classification and, again on the basis of the work of the survey, a method of estimating approximate land carrying capacities for traditional African systems of usage was devised. Description of the vegetation-soil method of land classification will be found in the two reports of the Ecological Survey and notes on the factors involved in the estimation of land carrying capacities are given in the second of these reports.*

A complete description of the method of estimating land carrying capacities, as employed in the resettlement work, and examples of its application are given in the other papers in this series.

It is necessary to understand clearly what is meant by the terms 'land carrying capacity' and 'population-land balance', as they are used here. There is a very definite limit to the number of people any land area will support in perpetuity, if the population obtains its food only from within that area. This limit is fixed by certain natural characteristics of soil and

* *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Western Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 15s. *The Soil, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Eastern Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 5s.

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climate and by the way in which the land is used. If the limit is exceeded *without a compensating change in the system of land usage* then a process of land degradation is set in operation and ultimately, unless food is obtained from outside the area, population must decline to the limit determined by natural conditions and the system of land use, or to a lower level. This limit, the maximum number of people that a given land area will maintain in perpetuity under a certain system of land usage, has been termed the 'carrying capacity' of the area *for that system*. It will be clear that the term can be used only in relation to a clearly defined system of land usage. Throughout these notes, when no statement to the contrary is made, the expression is used in relation to the traditional agricultural system of the tribes concerned. These systems, and the staple crops which go with them, vary greatly within this relatively small area of 33,800 square miles, and range from a primitive form of axe-agriculture among the Western Lala to comparatively advanced soil selection methods practised by the Eastern tribes. Descriptions of all of these systems will be found in the publications to which reference has already been made.

The term 'population-land balance' hardly requires definition. If the total population of an area is equal to or less than the land capacity for the system of agriculture practised, then a population-land balance exists within that area. When the total population is well below the land carrying capacity the areas may be described as under-populated.

These concepts, and the methods of survey and of estimating the carrying capacities for the different land categories and agricultural systems, were applied to the problem of resettlement. Rapid reconnaissance surveys were made throughout the populated areas, with the objects of assessing approximately the land carrying capacity for each chief's area and estimating the number of people who would have to be moved to unoccupied land in order to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of the traditional agricultural systems. The estimate indicated that a total of about 160,800 people would have to be moved, as shown in the Table below.

District	*Tribe*	*Number of people to be moved*
Fort Jameson	Chewa Ngoni	98,300
Petauke	Senga Ambo	35,000 8,000
Mkushi	Lala Svaka	3,200 4,300
Ndola	Lamba	12,000

The estimates make no allowances for the readjustment of population distribution within the old Reserve. Some chieftaincies were in fact much under-populated and in some of the Reserves considerable areas remained almost or completely uninhabited because of water shortage, the occur-

7: Hodgson . G-5 (1926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Dr. H. S. Stannus and other writers, and I have attempted, therefore, in the following pages to confine myself to matters which, so far as I know, have not been recorded fully elsewhere. The present tense is generally used, though in many instances, during forty years of contact with missionary and other European influence, the custom described may have fallen wholly or partially into desuetude. Except where otherwise stated, the notes may be taken as referring to the Chewa tribe.

II. Domestic Life: Marital.

1. *Mdulo.* (*Chewa*).

Mdulo (a noun derived from *ku-dula*, to cut or break off) is the causing of illness in oneself or another person by indulging in sexual intercourse at prohibited times, or, more rarely, by abstaining therefrom when it is prescribed. The following are examples of cases in which the misfortune of *mdulo* is conferred:

(*a*) Upon a husband by his wife if he eats food into which she has put salt either during her periods or after she has committed adultery.

(*b*) Upon an unweaned child by its father—

(1) if he fails to achieve connexion after its birth (*vide infra* II, 7);

(2) if he commits adultery in his own house when the child is there;

(3) if he has connexion with his wife on the child's blanket when the child is sleeping in the house; or

(4) if he occupies the same house with two wives, and has connexion with the other in the temporary absence of the child and its mother.

(*c*) Upon an unweaned child by its mother if she leaves its *mbereko*[1] outside the house while she has intercourse and afterwards puts the child into it again. In the event of such a contretemps the *mbereko* must always be given away to someone else.

(*d*) Upon the womb of a wife by her husband—

(1) if he commits adultery when she is pregnant and then eats with her out of the same pot.

(2) When a man has two wives, he normally spends a week or two with each in turn. If, when one is pregnant, he leaves her for an abnormally long period, he must not return to her until after she has given birth, otherwise he will thereby "cut off" the womb. The result of this misadventure is that the wife will die in child-birth, or the child will be still-born or will die shortly after birth.

(*e*) Upon a boy in the *bwalo*[2] by his parents—

(1) when the boy comes to their house in their absence and helps himself to meat or food from a pot, if the parents have intercourse on their return and then give him meat from the same piece or food from the pot;

[1] *Mbereko*, the cloth or skin fastened round a mother's neck or shoulder and slung on her back, in which she carries her child till it is weaned, that is, till it has reached the age of two or three years. The *mbereko*, when made of tanned skin is often decorated gaily with beads. *Ku-beba* is the verb meaning to carry in this way.

[2] *Bwalo*, the communal open space in a village. Boys of five or six years of age, who are too old to continue to sleep with their parents, go to a communal hut until they are married. This hut is known as the "bwalo" hut, and the boys are said to be "in the bwalo."

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Maravi FR4

people of Mpezeni'. When questioned, they acknowledged their local origin as Nsenga or Chewa by kinship and clan, but claimed the name Ngoni in terms of their political allegiance. It is worth while mentioning here that this claim to be Ngoni is made with even more force when men are away from home on the mines or at other work. I found men on the Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt and in Johannesburg assert emphatically that they were Ngoni because they were the people of Mpezeni or Gomani, at the same time giving their clan names with a grin because they knew it would reveal their Chewa or Nsenga origin. It is 'the thing' to pass as Ngoni if you can carry it off and in strange places—where the acid test of the clan name is not known—it is easy to do this. A group of Nyasaland men newly arrived on the Crown Mines in Johannesburg told me confidentially, 'Here we say only, "We are all Ngoni". You know that our clan names are Chewa or Tumbuka, but we are the people of Gomani or of Mwambera, and so we say we are Ngoni. And then people are respecting us.' The prestige in the name Ngoni is a matter of pride, not only in their own country, but far and wide in Africa.

The chiefs and other important men among the Ngoni recognize that they are a very mixed group ethnically. When asked, 'What is the meaning of a clan?' they reply, 'It shows a man's tribe that we may know how to respect him.'[1] It is hardly correct, therefore, to speak of the Ngoni as a tribe, for from Natal to Tanganyika men of many 'tribes' joined, or were captured and forcibly assimilated by, the original nucleus of Zulu and Swazi warriors, to be welded by their

[1] I avoid using vernacular terms in this article because usually the Ngoni, Chewa, Nsenga, and Tumbuka terms are all different. The field worker has to make a comparative linguistic table giving equivalent meanings in vernacular terms. Here I use the English word 'clan' to express the unilateral group according to kinship descent. 'Tribe' should be used in a cultural sense, of a group of people possessing a common language and common institutions. The ambiguity with which 'tribe' and its vernacular equivalents is used, by Europeans and Africans alike, necessitates an investigation on linguistic and historical lines. The so-called Chewa tribe, for example, rarely, if ever, use the word Chewa, but refer to themselves as Ntumba, Maravi, &c. The Ngoni, speaking of themselves in the south, refer to the Ndwandwe, Ntungwa, &c., and only use the 'blanket term' Zulu or Swazi when they think you are ignorant of the finer distinctions. I use the word 'tribe' here to express these distinctive groups, but it is impossible to avoid some ambiguity without long linguistic digressions.

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5

We have also to recognize that the wider connotation of the word is in constant use to-day, and it will be apparent in the course of this article that those who like to be thought Ngoni but have no real claim to the name, find ways in which to identify themselves with the real Ngoni, and to impress upon outsiders that they share the distinction of that name.

III. NGONI SOCIETY AS A CULTURAL UNIT. It is evident that the field worker who tries to describe and analyse the society which is found in the Ngoni areas to-day has some difficulty in establishing appropriate and correct terms. Here is a society which is a compound of ethnic units, subdivided into clans according to kinship, stratified into ranks, held together by a ruling aristocracy and a strong centralized political organization. This society differs radically from that of a homogeneous community where the sociological structure has gone through a long process of integration or disintegration, or has remained static over a period of time. The Ngoni created their 'state', that is, their present political and social units, within a relatively short period by a series of deliberate acts. They brought with them a pattern of society from the south; they modified[1] it during their forty odd years of wandering and warfare; and they moulded it finally when they settled in their present areas. Within this deliberately created social structure the principles of centralization and rank were dominant. Based on these two principles the Ngoni set up, in an alien milieu, the institutions of chieftainship,[2] of military training, of systematized law courts, of recognized ranks in society, of patrilineal succession and inheritance, speaking among themselves a language foreign to the country. The resultant society, a compound of the Ngoni ruling aristocracy and the conquered indigenous people, formed the Ngoni state. So conscious was all this social engineering that old men to-day can give detailed accounts of the various processes, political, legal, military, by which the conquerors and conquered were brought under one rule.[3] Borrowing a term from European history,

[1] One striking modification was the replacing of the village as a small kinship group by villages of hundreds of huts, with an elaborate organization into hamlets.

[2] Using chieftainship in the sense of the Ngoni *indoni* whose office and powers were very different from those of the surrounding petty chiefs.

[3] As one of these processes, the piercing of the ear-lobes became the 'ritual

the mental adjustments necessary to white contact. They still resent white intrusion and its results, economic, administrative, and missionary. At the same time many of them earnestly wish for a solution of the present tension, but towards such a solution there is no easy short cut.

VIII. Conclusion. Conclusions reached after the first period of field work are generally given with a certain reserve, especially in a complex field such as the Ngoni present. I think, however, that the conclusions in this paper can be stated with some certainty, and as dogmatic statements they form a basis for further field work. For they set the main problems for the detailed study of the Ngoni, and also of the Ngoni as a field for observing culture contact. In the article I hope that the three chief elements in the study have emerged, namely, the problem of Ngoni society as a cultural and political unit; the culture contact problems due to the contact, and part fusion, with local tribes; and the modern culture contact problems due to European penetration.

1. The Ngoni as a group must be regarded from two points of view: those who ethnically have a right to be called Ngoni, who are members of recognized Ngoni clans, with an acknowledged southern origin; and all those who live in the territory of the Ngoni Paramount Chief, and call themselves his people. These last were incorporated into the Ngoni state by the first group, who are still the ruling aristocracy, but the incorporated people now share in Ngoni 'national sentiment' and have made certain sociological changes in order to conform to Ngoni culture. It is their southern origin and their well remembered traditions of the past which confer distinctiveness on the true Ngoni, and on the state which they built. It is to their past they also turn for the charter for those institutions which are recognized as distinctively Ngoni, such as the Paramount Chiefdainship, the hierarchy of rank, and patrilineal succession. Their historical origin and military achievements form also the charter for their former position as rulers of the country which they held before the advent of the Europeans.

2. The Europeans in two of the Ngoni areas destroyed the unique position of the Ngoni by defeating their armies. These armies had